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HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

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Ike and Steel: The President's exhortation to management and labor to "show good sense" in the steel dispute has had wide and favorable reverberations on Capitol Hill. Even some Democratic legislators, bought and paid for at the last election by COPE, privately nodded vigorous assent.

Republicans on the Hill who have been warming up to Ike in his new conservative incarnation (since Sherman Adams left) also liked it. However, they confidentially remark that "Ike ought to come out more forthrightly." What they mean is that the President should say flatly what perhaps most of the people of the country are saying—that there should be neither price nor wage increases in the steel industry. It is believed that such sentiments, voiced without Ike's usual complicated qualifications, would have broad popular appeal.

If Ike did speak out, he would—in Capital parlance—"blanket" the clever "profits" propaganda of David McDonald, steelworkers union boss, and put the whole controversy in its true perspective. For Washington knows—although the country may be confused about it—that the "profits" argument holds no water.

Legislators recognize that the recent upturn in profits by US Steel Corporation has been caused by excessive inventory buying, inspired by fears of a strike. Also, Capitol Hill knows that McDonald (or Reuther or any other union boss) always chooses a comparatively profitable company as an example. If a wage hike can be extorted from such a firm, the bosses don't care how unfavorably it will affect other units in the industry which can less easily afford an increase.

Will the mass of workers be confused by McDonald's argument? Probably not—say observers in Washington. HUMAN EVENTS in the past year has frequently drawn attention to polls and opinion sampling which indicate that the workers actually do not want wage increases, for they have learned by experience that price increases and inflation offset such gains.

This week, news in the press vividly confirms this interesting development. Pollster Samuel Lubell, who writes for the *Saturday Evening Post* and for Scripps-Howard, has been interviewing steelworkers. "They have virtually lost interest in further wage increases," Lubell reports; he adds that a "sizable segment of the steelworkers is satisfied with current working conditions." Steel union officials deny such conclusions.

"Steel union officials were wrong and pollster Samuel Lubell is right," the *Chicago Daily News* concluded, after making its own poll to check up on the controversy. *News* reporters visited homes, street corners, pool halls, saloons in the Chicago area and let the steelworker talk for himself. The reporters found that "the steelworkers don't want a strike; they fear inflation and don't want a pay raise at the expense of other benefits."

Through their comments runs the undercurrent of realization that wage increases bring inflationary results: "You may get a few pennies, but they don't mean anything"—"You don't want a basketful of money just to buy a loaf of bread"—"What will we do with a pay raise? Nothing, the cost of living will just go up."

The Nation's Capital has read the foregoing findings in a local newspaper. Much opinion, therefore, backs up legislators who say that the President should take a strong stand: "no price or wage increases." Ike has made progress in his fight against "liberal" Democratic spending proposals; he has begun to relate labor boss power to the inflationary cycle; he has put the "unsound dollar" forces on the defensive. Now is the time—say many in Washington—for him to drive on to bigger victories.

Death of a Salesman: Last week, Washington eyed the end of the political career of one of the most heavily publicized of the Modern Republicans—Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin of Maryland. The former Governor of the Free State ran for Mayor of Baltimore and was soundly thrashed by his Democratic opponent, J. Harold Grady. Few "liberal" Republican figures enjoyed greater acclaim in recent years by left-wing commentators in the Middle Atlantic state area (for long, he was touted as a Presidential possibility). Few Republicans went as far as McKeldin as a "spender," as a welfare state advocate, as a busy friend of "minority" blocs; additionally, he had alliances with corrupt gangster politicians (Fulton Lewis

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Jr., exposed McKeldin's strange associations in politics several years ago). The Baltimore *Sun*, after the defeat, reported the opinion that this spelled the end of McKeldin's elective political career.

On Capitol Hill, veteran observers added McKeldin's name to a list of defeated Modern Republicans who have found that "me-tooism" in the past six years did not pay: Purtell of Connecticut, Potter of Michigan, Payne of Maine, Thye of Minnesota, Watkins of Utah, Bender of Ohio, Duff of Pennsylvania, Craig of Indiana, Langlie of Washington, Thornton of Colorado, Kean of New Jersey, Knight of California, McKay of Oregon.

Another significant fact emerges from McKeldin's defeat at the polls last week: his opponent, J. Harold Grady, is rated as a "conservative" Democrat by those who know him in Baltimore. A graduate of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI college in basic Americanism, his close friends and backers in the Maryland metropolis are right-of-center Democrats and Republicans.

The 42-year-old victor, in a post election interview, said that the Baltimore outcome was the result of a "revolt of public opinion" against bosses, and a public desire for "new faces and ideas" in the political picture. Baltimoreans draw the conclusion that the electorate distinctly does not classify Modern Republicans as exemplars of "new ideas."

British Story: Capitol Hill, already worried about pricing American goods out of the world market, expressed amazement at a May 6 AP dispatch from London.

The dispatch read: "British exports to the US exceeded imports from America in March for the first time since 1865, the year President Lincoln was assassinated."

Ever since those distant days, the balance of British-American trade has run in favor of the United States. The pattern has been accepted as inevitable.

The British Board of Trade released figures this month showing that Britain sold the US goods valued at about $78 million in March; in return Britain bought only $68 million worth. Figures for the first quarter showed Britain ahead of the US.

The British Board of Trade pointed out two developments, in particular, which helped to produce this new picture: (1) a big jump in British exports of autos to the US; and (2) a slump in American cotton exports to Britain in the first quarter.

Exports of American cotton and autos to the United Kingdom have been traditional, so the new trend is alarming to trade experts and politicos in the Capital. They draw the conclusion that this is the payoff of an American era of sharply rising labor costs (which have tended to price American products out of the world market), of reciprocal trade agreements, of foreign aid and a flight of American industrial capital abroad.

What Next in Cuba? The debacle in Cuba (described in HUMAN EVENTS' article section this week) is now thoroughly recognized as such by Washington officialdom. But apparently State Department officials have so far found no adequate remedy for the Communist takeover of our island neighbor.

Former Ambassador Spruille Braden described a somewhat similar plight confronting us in a recent speech. His diagnosis and interpretation of events get unusual attention just now, because he was among the first to warn of the danger of Castro (in an interview in HUMAN EVENTS on August 17, 1957). In his speech, Braden (formerly head of the Latin American division of the State Department) recalled the Communist rise to power in Guatemala some years ago, and how our "weakness and timidity at first prevented the United States from taking positive action to support Colonel Castillo Armas, in his drive to overthrow the Arbenz Communist regime in Guatemala, to whom we [had] given foreign aid. Fortunately for all of us, President Somoza of Nicaragua courageously saved the day by supplying arms and planes to Castillo Armas. Later, a number of Latin American Ambassadors pointed out to the State Department that if the Communists continued to control Guatemala, similar regimes would crop up in other American countries; and that since we were being accused of intervention anyway, we might as well intervene by giving Castillo Armas support, thus saving the situation. At the Ambassadors' behest, we added our help to wipe out the first modern Communist Government established on this hemisphere. That was a narrow escape. It behooves all the hemisphere to see to it that we don't come so close to a debacle again."

Braden, who has studied the unsound policies of US foreign aid in Europe and Asia as well as in Latin America, made this observation anent Cuba: "It is to be hoped that we will not again be lured into the futile procedure of trying to buy Castro off by giving him foreign aid."

What may be the upshot of the Cuban disaster? Braden offers this thought: "I pray that we do not wake up some morning to find the Caribbean being converted into a Communist lake. In such an event, the other American Republics, including the United States, for their own protection would be compelled to intervene with arms."

Labor Front: Against a nation-wide backdrop of union violence in labor-management disputes, the results of a recent plant election supervised by the National Labor Relations Board suggest an increasing trend against union power.

The election took place in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, just 60 miles from Henderson in the same state, where the community has been kept in a continuous uproar by violence, bombings, and riotous picketing in the six-months old strike against the Harriet-Henderson Cotton Mills. Public reaction against union activities seems now to have had a signal effect in Roanoke Rapids, where attempts by the Textile Workers Union to organize the four local mills of the J. P. Stevens Company met with a thumping defeat. In the NLRB-supervised election, the Stevens employees rejected, by a vote of almost two-to-one, the union's effort to install itself as collective bargaining agent (the outcome was 1664 to 885).

● Hopes are mounting among conservatives on Capitol Hill that the Kennedy-Ervin "sweetheart" bill will either be drastically amended for the better in the House or will be voted down *in toto*. Business groups have come out four-square against the Kennedy bill, and many of

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these groups favor a measure proposed by conservative Representative Graham A. Barden (D.-N.C.), Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. Barden's proposal is described by students of labor legislation as following the lines of the famous McClellan amendment (watered down in the Senate), but as being somewhat "tougher." Barden commands only a minority of his committee, but it is hoped that an intensive drive by business elements, similar to that which defeated last session's "sweetheart" legislation, will gather more support for the bill on the floor of the House. A more favorable outcome for conservatives may thus become possible by the end of June (when, it is estimated, the conflict on labor legislation will approach a climax). Meanwhile, it is reported that Senator John McClellan (D.-Ark.) is going to throw his weight behind-the-scenes in the House cloakrooms to get a really tough reform bill.

Representative Edgar Hiestand (R.-Calif.) sardonically expressed the developing attitude among many Members of Congress, when he said: "The view has gotten abroad in the land that the Senate worked out a good compromise that will do the job of labor reform. Well, it won't. The Kennedy bill has no backbone. It lacks a profile of courage."

● Walter Reuther is visiting Europe, where he is giving forth on world affairs. It would be surprising, say labor observers, if he does not press for more foreign aid by the US.

Similarly, it is noted in Detroit that Governor G. Mennen Williams found time last month, amidst the troubles of his bankrupt labor-dominated regime, to journey to Toronto, Canada, to make a speech to the Empire Club in that city. Williams proposed a $5 billion-a-year "free world" economic aid program for underdeveloped countries through the United Nations. Williams said that America's share of this sum should be $3 billion a year —in addition to the $3.9 billion foreign aid appropriation requested for next year by President Eisenhower.

High Court: Lawyer Loyd Wright, former head of the American Bar Association, last week gave some cogent reasons for congressional action to curb the rampaging Supreme Court. "It is known to all Americans," Wright told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, "that the Congress has made effective use of [all legal] weapons of defense . . . but in each of these . . . lines of protection, the good work of the legislative branch has been emasculated or largely destroyed by the action of another branch of the Federal Government, by the Supreme Court of the United States."

Citing the example of the High Court decision in the case of Cole v. Young, *Wright said: " . . . under the mandate of this decision, 109 employees, many of them members of the Communist party, have been restored [to Government service] . . . $579,656.55 in back pay has been compelled to be paid to these who think so little of our fundamental principles of government."*

SUNFED: A powerful voice has warned Congress that it had better take prompt action to save the US from a vast international spending scheme.

A spokesman for The American Farm Bureau Federation declared last week that the Administration's request for funds to cover US contributions to SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development) should be denied. SUNFED has been exposed by this publication (see Richard Whalen's "The Greatest Giveaway" in HUMAN EVENTS for May 6, 1959) as a program for peddling global socialism.

The Farm Bureau spokesman told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that his organization is "opposed to channeling large sums of US money or food through the UN and subjecting them, to any degree, to the influence of the Soviet Union." Russia, Yugoslavia, and a number of neutral nations are members of the Governing Council of the Special Projects Fund.

Capitol Camera: The AFL-CIO has already issued a blacklist of 12 US Senators it hopes to defeat at the polls in '60: Republicans Allott (Colo.), Bridges (N.H.), Curtis (Neb.), Dworshak (Idaho), Martin (Iowa), Mundt (S.D.), Saltonstall (Mass.), Schoeppel (Kan.); Democrats Frear (Del.), Robertson (Va.), McClellan (Ark.), Thurmond (S.C.).

Although there are eleven Southern Members on the House Judiciary Committee, Chairman Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) ignored all of them in selecting a subcommittee to hear testimony on the 31 civil rights bills introduced so far during this session.

● Walter Reuther, who tells Congress to attack US economic doldrums by spending heavily and creating jobs, has fired 70 United Automobile Workers staff members, cut the salaries of those remaining by five per cent.

● The US is paying a heavy price to "coexist" with the Soviet Union. The latest agreement on supplying nuclear materials to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna finds the Russians contributing 110 pounds of uranium, Britain, 45. Uncle Sam's share: 11,000 pounds.

● At a recent press conference—even while Christian Herter was in Europe laying the groundwork for the upcoming summit meeting—President Eisenhower repeatedly referred to *Secretary* Dulles, or "the *Secretary*" (meaning Dulles). Nine times the President mentioned the name of *Mr.* Herter, never once referring to him as "the Secretary."

Subversion: Former President Harry Truman continues to be gun shy of the House Un-American Activities Committee, declining, for the second time in his turbulent career, an invitation to testify before that body.

Meanwhile, most of the evidence sifting into Washington indicates favorable public sentiment toward the work of the committee. For example, a resolution of support for the House Un-American Activities Committee emanated recently from an unexpected source—the AFL-CIO's Cannery Workers Union of the Pacific.

The cannery workers became aroused when the California Democratic Club, at its Fresno convention, voted a resolution for abolition of HUAC. The object of the union's ire was the chairman of the CDC's 68th district —an important voice at the convention—who is also a

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member of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the union expelled by the AFL-CIO for following the Communist line.

REA: An interesting sidelight to the recent legislative fight over REA was this story unearthed by a HUMAN EVENTS reporter: the present head of the REA lobby, one Clyde Ellis, was formerly a Congressman from Arkansas; during the recent struggle, he was moving heaven and earth to have the REA loan authority taken away from Secretary of Agriculture Benson.

Yet when he was in Congress himself, in 1939, Ellis voted to have that very authority placed under the Secretary of Agriculture. Reason: the Secretary then was none other than Henry A. Wallace.

Four Who Stood Firm: The roll call to determine whether Congress would override the President's veto of the REA bill last week was decided by just four votes. The margin was supplied by four Democrats who voted their convictions, rather than the big-spending line urged by the formidable public-power lobby.

The REA vote is viewed in the Capital as being doubly significant: First, because the Democratic leadership failed to override Ike's veto on a maximum strength party-line issue, it is unlikely that many big-spending bills can be pushed through over the President's opposition. (Minority Leader Charles Halleck of Indiana this week told HUMAN EVENTS that the vote was even more important for its symbolic and morale-building effects than for its ideological content.) Second, it shows that the rising trend to conservatism among younger members of the GOP—frequently noted in HUMAN EVENTS—has a counterpart within the Democratic party; for all four of the dissenters are young men, by congressional standards, the oldest being only 43. They are: Joseph W. Barr (Ind.), William Jennings Bryan Dorn (S.C.), David S. King (Utah), and Harold B. McSween (La.).

HUMAN EVENTS reporters this week interviewed each of these four Democrats, to get the reasoning behind their votes. These were the results:

● King of Utah is the son of the late William S. King, conservative Democratic Senator from that state. Representative King reviewed his vote in terms of the REA's self-interest. "I am satisfied," King said, "that the well-being of REA was not at issue in this vote . . . I have seen and heard nothing which persuaded me that my vote should have changed."

● *Representative Barr of Indianapolis, who characterizes himself as a "cautious liberal," had two reasons for voting against the REA bill: it offered no benefits for the people of his District, and it was an administrative misplay, "clouding the line of authority" with its proposal to divest the Secretary of Agriculture of his authority over REA. As a freshman Congressman, Barr has found that, "in Washington, the hardest thing to do is to find out who's in charge of what." The REA proposal, he felt, would have made a bad situation worse.*

● William Dorn of South Carolina—at 43 a veteran of six terms in the House—is one of the lower chamber's foremost conservatives. He based his vote on the simple principle of consistency: "In 1939," he told HUMAN EVENTS, "the Democratic Congress placed the REA under Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace. I felt on this vote, as a matter of principle, that regardless of whether the Secretary of Agriculture is a Democrat or Republican, he should have the power to review large loans."

● Youngest of the four legislators is Louisiana's Harold McSween, 32, a smart, plaintalking lawyer whose convictions are solidly conservative and whose grasp of issues is a rebuke to the labor-dominated herd which votes as it is told. McSween got to Washington this year after a hard primary scrap with the battlewise Earl Long machine (see HUMAN EVENTS for September 22 and October 6, 1958). Since his arrival, McSween has done intensive homework on the issues, and has voted for economy and conservatism (sample vote: against the Federal aid to airports measure—although his hometown, Alexandria, was scheduled to receive benefits under it).

Interviewed by HUMAN EVENTS this week, concerning his vote on the REA veto, McSween had this comment: "I'm not a crusader, but I call them as I see them. I went through a lot of hell getting up here, and I didn't do it just so I could vote the way somebody tells me to."

Fulton Lewis Jr.: Conservatism won a key victory last week, as a Federal judge set aside a $145,000 libel judgment against radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., and called for a new trial.

Suing Lewis was Mrs. Pearl A. Wanamaker, a Washington state school official; in a 1956 broadcast, Lewis mistakenly identified a man who had defected to communism as Mrs. Wanamaker's brother; although Lewis profusely apologized for his error, and although a number of witnesses testified that Mrs. Wanamaker's reputation had not suffered from it, a jury awarded Mrs. Wanamaker damages totalling the staggering sum of $145,000.

US Judge George Hart, in setting aside the verdict, said that the damages were excessive, and that on one count they exceeded the plaintiff's demand by 80 per cent. The size of the damages, Hart said, was "so excessive as to shock the conscience and lead to the conclusion that the jury was influenced by passion or prejudice." Hart also observed that the plaintiff's lawyer had indulged in "highly improper" remarks in cross-examining a defense witness.

JAMES W. GREENWOOD, Pastor, The Church of Christ, St. Louis, Mich.: "I devour every word of every issue of HUMAN EVENTS. I only wish that it might go into every home in America."

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SECTION II

A dramatic biography of one of the great men of our time

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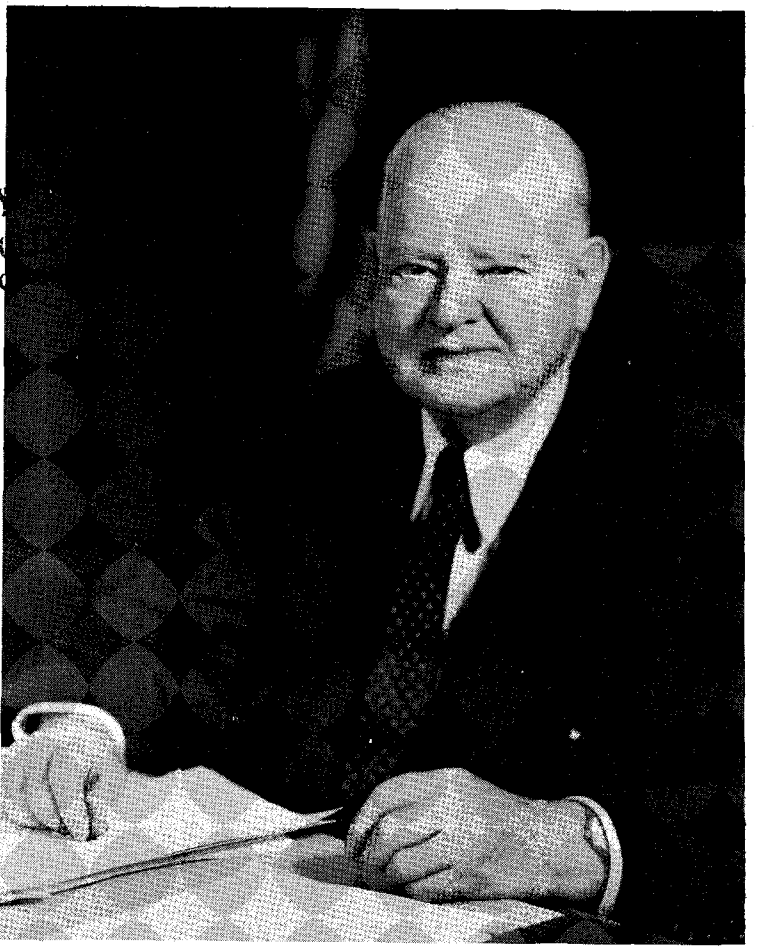
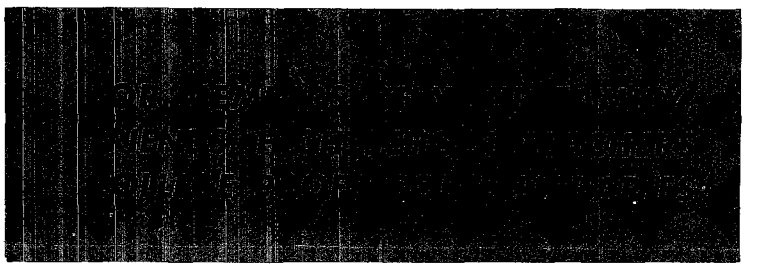
BY EUGENE LYONS

SENIOR EDITOR, *READER'S DIGEST*





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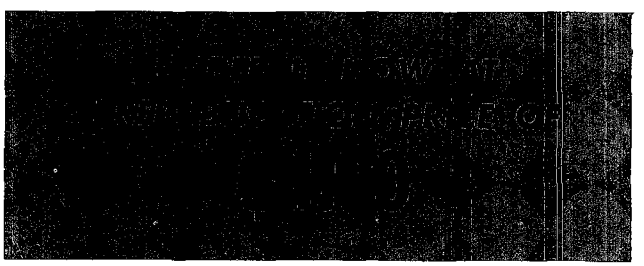

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The first part of THE HERBERT HOOVER STORY was published in 1948 under the title OUR UNKNOWN EX-PRESIDENT. This Special Edition — to commemorate the 85th birthday, August 10th of "The Chief" — brings the Hoover Story down to the present date.

THE HERBERT HOOVER STORY

BY EUGENE LYONS

Few American leaders have been as cruelly and unjustly maligned, Eugene Lyons points out, as our thirty-first President. He was made the *scapegoat for a world depression*, the whipping boy of a nation. Fortunately, time and events have tended to reverse the verdict of partisan malice and restore him to popular esteem. Within these pages Mr. Lyons cuts through the anti-Hoover myths to uncover the *great American and the exciting human story underneath.*

It is the true Hoover who sits for this portrait. It is the village blacksmith's son, orphaned as a child, whose life is "an authentically American success story"; the Hoover who started as a laborer in the mine pits and rose to be the world's leading mining engineer; whose Quaker conscience led him to renounce fabulous wealth for service to his fellow men; who as President, then as ex-President, made an epic fight in defense of his liberal faith in American individualism.

These pages are crammed with facts and anecdotes, many of them here published for the first time, which help reveal "the warm, whimsical, and tender Hoover known to his intimates, the very human and deeply humane Quaker behind the solemn facade." They help explain why "Hoover has a multitude of enemies but no ex-friends."

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The author has done an expert and warm-hearted job in depicting the personality of a man of deep integrity who rose from Lincolnesque beginnings to the presidency.

The author, Eugene Lyons, is now a Senior Editor of *The Reader's Digest*. He was an eminent foreign correspondent. He is the author of ASSIGNMENT IN UTOPIA, THE RED DECADE, THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, and other books.

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Article Section

In its issue of August 17, 1957—at a time when most commentators had only words of enthusiasm for the infant revolt of Fidel Castro—HUMAN EVENTS published a report exposing Castro's Communist background, and the danger which his uprising presented to American security. In recent months, as Castro's triumph has been widely hailed as a victory for democracy, this publication has repeatedly warned of his multiple associations with communism, pinpointing his takeover in Cuba as a victory for Moscow. Gradually—yielding to daily revelations of subversion and brutality—other news sources have been turning to this view. Among the most important of these journalistic breakthroughs was a television broadcast, Sunday, May 3, presented by the Columbia Broadcasting System. The program, an exhaustive documentary narrated by correspondent Stuart Novins, supported in full the position taken for the past two years by HUMAN EVENTS. The following article consists of excerpts from that broadcast—containing about 80 per cent of Novins' revelations. Omissions from the transcript are indicated by four dots (. . . .).

Is Cuba Going Red?

A CBS television presentation, narrated by STUART NOVINS

Announcer: . . . . CBS News correspondent Stuart Novins has just returned from Cuba, where he spent two months in an exhaustive study of the revolutionary Government as it has emerged under Fidel Castro. He traveled throughout the island, talking to hundreds of people of all backgrounds and examined a mass of documentary evidence. For an examination of the question, "Is Cuba Going Red?" here now is Mr. Novins. . . .

Novins: Good evening. The inescapable fact is brutally simple. The island of Cuba—90 miles off our shores, site of the American naval base that guards our southern defenses, anchor for our defense of the Panama Canal, and key to the political future of Latin America—this Cuban island is today a totalitarian dictatorship and is rapidly becoming a Communist beachhead in the Caribbean.

Despite the protestations of democracy by Fidel Castro, despite the promise of the rebellion that ousted the corrupt state of Batista, Cuba is today a one-man Government, held together by promises and fear . . . . and control of the island's economic, political and social institutions is rapidly being taken over from that one man—Fidel Castro—whether he knows it or not—by what is emerging, in the opinion of Western diplomatic sources, as the best organized Communist apparatus in the Caribbean.

It is no longer possible for Cubans to express publicly any opposition to the Government without incurring swift and arbitrary reprisals. Any criticism of the Fidel Castro Government is now denounced as "counterrevolutionary" and Government practice makes "counterrevolution" punishable by property confiscation, imprisonment and/or death. Nowhere has the term "counterrevolution" been legally defined. That is why much of this report will be told in my voice rather than the voices of Cubans themselves.

Cuba's rebellion, which ended with the flight of Batista on January 1, created a perfect laboratory and target for Communist penetration. Here's how it works. In the classic strategy of Communist infiltration, there are two main tactics: to impoverish and make impotent the rich and [the] middle class; and deliberately to create mass unemployment, hunger and discontent among the poor. In the ensuing chaos, the Communist hard core, already infiltrated into key control points of the Government and the economy, can then take over. . . .

● This is David Salvador. He is Secretary General—top man—of the Cuban Confederation of Labor . . . . referred to as the CTC. David Salvador is 38 years old. As head of the only and all-inclusive central labor movement, he is one of the most powerful men in Cuba today. He was appointed to his post by Fidel Castro. . . .

Novins: Mr. Salvador, are you a Communist now?

Salvador: No, no, no.

Novins: Information made available to this reporter shows that David Salvador, despite the assertion you just heard that he is not now a Communist, during the last two years, was part of the underground Communist movement as well as of the rebel movement . . . . that he operated under the code name of "Mario" . . . . that he maintained contact with the party, chiefly through three known card-carrying Communists—or their couriers—Lazaro Pena, a veteran party labor movement leader, Blas Roca, another Communist labor movement activist, both of whom were outside of Cuba—and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, key strategist and political action expert of the Cuban equivalent of the Politburo, who remained inside Cuba.

On March 22, Salvador was seated on the platform before the Presidential Palace in Havana,

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when Jose Figueres, ex-president of Costa Rica, spoke before thousands of workers at a labor rally. Figueres pointed to the dangers of communism in Latin America, and urged Cuba to take a pro-Western position in the cold war. Salvador jumped from his seat, grabbed the microphone from Figueres, and shouted, "We cannot side with the Americans who oppress us." Shortly thereafter Castro called for Cuban neutrality in the cold war. Thirteen days later, the Costa Rican Communist leader, Manuel Mora, arrived in Havana. That night, Fidel Castro told his nation, over TV, that Figueres "is a bad friend of Cuba . . . . a bad revolutionary."

* * *

Salvador's Confederation of Labor spreads into every aspect of Cuban life. It is one jaw of the vise that grips the whole economy. The other jaw of the vise is the Government itself. On March 10, the Government issued a decree that arbitrarily cut all apartment and house rentals: 50 per cent on $100 apartments, 40 per cent on apartments up to $200.

But here's what happened. Traditionally, middle-class savings have gone into apartments like these. Now, the apartment house owners, their income cut in half, still face mortgage and loan payments that have not been reduced proportionately. The Communist-dominated unions have simultaneously raised the cost of painters, electricians, carpenters, maintenance workers. All new construction in Cuba, for practical purposes, has stopped. 120 thousand construction workers have no work to do. Those contractors with people already on the payrolls are forbidden by law to fire or lay off any workers. Companies have to pay the workers out of reserves, just as the apartment owner has to pay his debts out of savings. With the grinding to a halt of the construction industry, the steel industry, cement production and subsidiary manufacture [have] been cut back an estimated 60 per cent.

* * *

● ON APRIL 8, THE GOVERNMENT issued another decree that says, in effect: all privately owned but vacant land must now be sold to anyone who wants to build on it. And the Government fixed the price of $4 a meter, regardless of the original cost to the owner. The practical expropriation implicit in these two decrees alone, [has] not only virtually wiped out savings of the middle-class owners, [but has] brought more unemployment to the laborers. [It has] created so much uncertainty that banks are refusing to make loans. Cuban investment capital is virtually frozen. . . .

When a company has almost exhausted its resources, the Government—to keep the payrolls going—arbitrarily takes over its management. This process is known as "interventing." More than 475 large businesses have been "intervented" by the Government on economic or political grounds. More are on the way. No one knows—or has said publicly—what happens to these companies when all the cash is gone.

* * *

There is no doubt that Cuba's poor have been exploited in the past. No doubt that genuine reforms are needed. But the unemployment figure of 40 per cent of the work force that Castro inherited on January first has now expanded to almost 50 per cent of jobless or below subsistence level as a direct result of the Government-union squeeze. That army of unemployed will get bigger in the next four months. Sugar grinding ends this month. That will put about 200 thousand more out of jobs. . . .

The rapid disintegration of Cuba's economy from the most flourishing economy in the Caribbean area fits the classic pattern that makes easy a Communist takeover, if the other control points check out, too. Let's look.

* * *

● THE BILATERAL SQUEEZE—Government on the one side, Communist-led unions on the other—that has clamped down on business, has also clamped down on business' advertising budgets. With revenue cut, most news media—newspapers, radio, television— are operating very close to economic failure. The Government has just decreed a 30 per cent wage increase for editorial employees. Many papers will have to close down. One Havana television station and a chain of radio stations have already been taken over by the Government on political grounds. This network is now called "Rebel Radio"—and it is run by Violetta Cassals, a Communist. Another television station has been "persuaded" to keep a Communist [on] its staff of news commentators.

The newspaper Revolucion **is the voice of Castro's 26th of July Movement. Its editor is Carlos Franqui, a former staffer of the Communist party newspaper,** Hoy. **Both papers,** Revolucion **and** Hoy, **frequently publish the same stories under the same headlines . . . . they frequently run parallel editorial lines.** Hoy **increasingly gives credit to the Communists for having started the anti-Batista revolution.**

Fidel Castro, in a series of speeches which reached a high point during the week preceding his friendship visit to the United States, publicly accused the Associated Press, the United Press International, *Time* magazine and other US news sources with being paid by what he calls the "international oligarchies," to print lies about his Government. During the same week, *Izvestia,* the official Soviet newspaper, said: "The monopolistic press of the United States has accelerated an unharnessed campaign against Cuba."

● IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING the Castro attacks on the American press services, the United Press office in Havana received three telephoned threats that its headquarters would be bombed. The families of some of the employees have been threatened with harm. The union has moved in with new demands.

Castro has made similar attacks on Cuban papers. Within the past two months, three papers, *Avance, Prensa Libre* and *Zigzag,* which raised tentative questions about Government policies, were publicly castigated by Castro, who urged his listeners to boycott them. There has been no marked editorial probing of Government policy by those papers since then.

A leading anti-Communist writes for the newspaper, *El Mundo,* one of the largest. His name is Juan Luis Martin. Martin, who wrote about the increased danger of Communist infiltration in Latin America, was secretly arrested by the Castro police and imprisoned without charges in La Cabana Fortress, the Army prison, five weeks ago. For two days there was no public knowledge of his arrest. His

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paper, *El Mundo,* printed nothing about it. A *Times Of Havana* reporter learned about it. He called *El Mundo,* who confirmed the arrest but declined to say why it had remained silent. . . . As of April 16, he was still incommunicado. . . .

To summarize the condition of the press: the papers are financially unstable, morally intimidated. With *Hoy, Revolucion* and Fidel Castro beating down opposition or criticism, while there is no official censorship, there is, for practical purposes of opposition, no free press in Cuba today. Radio and television are in much the same position, different stations to differing degrees. The broadcast bellwethers are "Rebel Radio," led by Communist Violetta Cassals, and "Union Radio," run by David Salvador.

* * *

● IT IS NOT ONLY NEWS and current opinion that is being stifled, history is being rewritten. Fidel Castro has appointed a new committee to do the job. It is called, "The Commission on Revision of Cuban History Books." It was conceived when Castro in a public appearance stated that American participation in the Spanish-American War was for imperialist motives. He said Cuban textbooks should be revised to show this and to correct other "misconceptions." The Committee is dominated by: Elias Entrango, a former member of the Communist-front Congress for Peace and a close associate of Juan Marinello, leader of the Cuban Communist party. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring of the commission is the strongly anti-American Historian of the City of Havana (a Government post). Western authoritative sources list him as "probably a Communist—certainly a fellow traveller." Another member, Angel Del Cerro, is a self-advertised Catholic layman who, without authorization from the Church, engages in public debates with Communists and—according to Western diplomatic observers—always comes off second best. He is also Director of Cultural Affairs for Havana and thus determines who uses what hall and when.

The Director of the National Commission of Culture is Vicentina Antunia. She controls foreign visiting lecture tours, concerts, ballets, and the National Theater. Informed and authoritative sources show that she has a long history of identification with Communist activities. And so has Francisco Alonso, top man of the National Fine Arts Commission.

● LET'S LOOK AT THE ARMY. *Raul Castro, brother of Fidel, named by Fidel as his successor as head of the Revolutionary movement, denies that he is a Communist. The record shows that in 1953 Raul went to Vienna for a Communist-front Congress and then disappeared in Bucharest, behind the Iron Curtain, for several weeks. On March 30th, this year, he addressed a worker's meeting in Cuba, defending David Salvador's anti-American outburst against Jose Figueres and supporting neutrality for Cuba in the cold war. Members of the 26th* [*of*] *July Movement told this reporter that, in 1957, Raul Castro threatened to kill his brother Fidel, over disagreements about rebel activity. Raul organized and carried out the kidnapping of Americans during the revolution.*

Raul Castro controls all the armed forces and police. His wife, Vilma Espin, has Communist associations. Her sister is at least a pro-Communist. Raul Castro has appointed a Communist, Lieutenant Gonzalez Mantichi, as commander of the central Cuban Army arsenal, San Ambrozlo. Mantichi's brother, Enrique, also a Communist, is active in the Confederation of Labor and particularly in unions that deal with television stations. The Army commander in Santiago is Commandante Manuel Pineiro. The Army Commander in Las Villas is Demetrio Monseny. Informed and completely reliable sources classify them as "Communists or Communist supporters."

The Army's Commander of La Cabana Fortress, the military and political prison, where many of the more than 500 executions have taken place, is Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a professional revolutionary from Argentina, who actively supported Jacobo Arbenz, the Communist leader in Guatemala. Guevara's second-in-command at La Cabana, until a month ago, was Commandante Benjamin Camino, an open anti-Communist. When Guevara became ill and had to leave his post temporarily, Camino, as deputy, assumed command in Guevara's absence. Within days, he was arrested and charged with "conspiracy"—no specifications given. He has not been heard from publicly since.

The Army holds indoctrination courses. The man in charge of the Army Information Program, including political education, is Lieutenant Alfredo Guevara, a Communist. In many Army posts, the only or most widely circulated newspaper is the Communist party paper, *Hoy.* . . .

* * *

● WHAT HAPPENS TO PEOPLE WHO ARE ARRESTED? There is no *habeas corpus* in Cuba. That fundamental right in any free society was suspended at Fidel Castro's direction on February 2. Arrests can be secret—and frequently are. It is impossible to get from any Government source even the number of people who are now under arrest in the country. Prisoners are not charged with specific accusations until about 24 hours before their trials, often weeks or months after their arrest. Prisoners can be—and often are—held incommunicado. They simply disappear. People have been imprisoned for alleged crimes that do not appear in any written laws, or are punished by sentences that are not provided by law.

There is no Bill of Rights. In Havana, the Government has opened a "denunciation center." Here, individuals may come and denounce to police anyone whom they wish to charge with "counterrevolution." The accused is arrested. He is investigated, sometimes for long periods of time. If he is found guilty of this legally undefined crime, he is sentenced. If he is found innocent, he is allowed to leave. But his business colleagues, his friends, are reluctant to associate with him, because his case can be reopened at any time.

● LET'S LOOK AT THE SCHOOLS. *At a speech in March, before 386 teachers at the Ministry of Education, the Under Secretary of Education, Luis Lebredo, said the Government has plans to eliminate in all schools, public or private, the teaching of English. When asked by a teacher what benefit that would bring to Cuba, he answered: "We are not here to make Cuba an American colony. . . ."*

In private schools, the Confederation of Labor

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has raised the costs of workers, while *Revolucion* says the Government threatens to force cuts in tuition. In at least two of the largest private schools in Havana, Baldor School and the Lafayette School, acts of sabotage have been committed.

In the public school system, at least 3,300 employees, including 500 teachers and 27 professors, were fired in February and March. Many of them had taught for more than 20 years. Twenty-five hundred were fired in one single day, March 31. Now the law says that none of the remaining teachers, or any that may be hired from now on, may be fired for any reason. The way is clear for the hiring of Communists or sympathizers. The Minister of Education is 27-year old Armando Hart, described by those close to him as "at least a left-wing radical." His wife, Haydee Santamaria, a close adviser and aide to Fidel Castro in the mountains, is evaluated as "a fellow traveller and long-time associate of known Communists."

● NOW LET'S LOOK AT THE CUBAN BALLOT . . . the chance for free elections. In early January, Fidel Castro said, "We will hold elections in 18 months or two years." We asked him why he didn't do it at once. His reply was that there was no political opposition. He said he wanted time for political opposition parties to develop.

Has political opposition been given a chance to develop? The answer is unequivocably "No." The fact is that political opposition is now legalistically synonymous with "counterrevolution," punishable by property confiscation, imprisonment, death. There is no press to support political opposition. Legal opposition simply cannot form in the present climate of increasing repression.

On April 9 in Havana and April 12 in Camaguey, Fidel Castro said: "Cuba will hold elections only when everyone has a job; when every farmer owns his own land; when illiteracy is wiped out; when," he said, "Cuba has regained its sovereignty." And he added, "Only the reactionaries want us to hold elections before the revolution is finished." The most conservative estimate possible is that, under ideal conditions, this represents at least a 20-year program.

But here in the United States, where elections are thought to be important, Fidel Castro said last week he thought Cuba would have elections in four years. The flexibility of Castro's predictions enforces those who believe that Fidel Castro, hungry for approval and adulation, will persuasively tell any given audience what he thinks it wants to hear.

● WHAT ABOUT CASTRO HIMSELF—and what is his part in the Communist plan for infiltration? There is no evidence to support the charge that Fidel Castro is a member of the Communist party. It is most probable that he is not. He has been a revolutionary throughout most of his relatively mature years. His economic, social and political program is generally believed to be sincerely motivated but completely whimsical and unplanned. He has an uncanny and great talent for persuasive language, but the record shows that his speeches are frequently self-contradictory. He has kindled hopes for Cuba's poor that can never be extinguished and probably never realized. But they are the golden promises that can be held out by the Communists if it becomes obvious that Castro cannot deliver. He has cleaned graft out of the Government. He can take no criticism and little advice. He is naive economically, inexperienced administratively, stubborn as well as naive politically. He has provided and supported a climate for Communist expansion. He has provided and supported an open expression of anti-Americanism that is spreading fast.

Most knowledgeable Cubans will agree that if the Confederation of Labor called a general strike tomorrow and Fidel Castro came out against it on anti-Communist grounds, he still has enough support to kill the strike. But these same men will tell you that eight months from now, in the same dilemma, Castro might not have the power to kill it. Many Cubans believe that Castro may already be too deeply enmeshed in Communist support to pull out. All are agreed that if anything happens to Castro physically, Cuba would be plunged into the worst bloodbath of its history. Some, the newly organizing underground, say violence is now the only way left to throw the Communists out—and that means a bloodbath.

And meanwhile, by using the economic situation as an excuse, Fidel Castro consistently dodges the one solution: free elections. If he makes possible, now, truly free elections, guaranteed by constitutional safeguards, the ballot would replace his Communist-exploited personal dictatorship with a constitutional democracy. It would force the Communists into an open count instead of a conspiracy. It would strengthen the anti-Communists who feel they have now no course to take but violence. And Fidel Castro himself would emerge as a greater Cuban hero than ever.

But without free constitutional elections, so far as the United States is concerned, it really doesn't matter whether Castro is a Communist or a willing dupe of Communists. The result in Cuba is the same. As one Western observer put it: "If it looks like a tiger, and growls like a tiger, and has claws and teeth and muscles like a tiger's; if it produces cubs that act like tiger cubs, it would be the prudent decision of a reasonable man not to open its cage and invite it home to lunch."

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